

1257

S E R M O N
PREACHED AT ARKLOW CHURCH,
BEFORE A
GENERAL MEETING
OF THE
MILITIA OF THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW,
WHEN FIRST EMBODIED,
ON THE 18. OF AUGUST 1793.

BY THE
REV. EDWARD BAYLY, A. M.
RECTOR OF ARKLOW.

AND PUBLISHED AT THE
REQUEST OF THE CORPS OF OFFICERS.

WITH NOTES,
TO CONFIRM AND ILLUSTRATE SEVERAL PASSAGES OF THE
TEXT, WHICH HAVE REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION, AND THE PRESENT WAR
WITH FRANCE.

The Profits of the Sale are to be applied to the Purchase of Flannel and other warm clothing—of which a Part is to be distributed amongst some very destitute Poor in the Parish of ARKLOW—and the remainder to be sent, with the other patriotic Contributions of the same Kind, to those brave Soldiers, who are at this severe Season, engaged in Defence of our RELIGION—our CONSTITUTION—and our LIBERTIES.

DUBLIN:
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1793.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD VISCOUNT WICKLOW,
COLONEL OF THE WICKLOW MILITIA;
AND THE
OFFICERS OF HIS CORPS.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

I VENTURE to offer to the public, under the sanction of your favourable opinion, a discourse calculated to dispel those illusions, with which a profligate faction have unhappily deceived many of the inhabitants of this kingdom, to their destruction.

Such topics cannot be too frequently resumed: the poison has been widely diffused; the antidote should be diligently applied.

The striking contrast between the secure enjoyment of liberty and every blessing of life, which our unrivalled constitution affords, and

the unlimited capricious tyranny, which has for some time past been exercised over FRANCE under pretence of reformation, by a base OLIGARCHY, composed of mean, artful and flagitious men—whose crimes have rendered that country throughout its whole extent a scene of horror and desolation—will remain to all ages, an awful, a memorable example of the fatal consequences which must ever ensue from agitating the public mind with visionary systems of an EQUALITY, incompatible with civil society—of PERFECTION unattainable in this uncertain life.

A wise Providence we are assured will finally deduce good from evil. We may therefore trust that the calamities of the present time will operate to the permanent advantage of mankind. The boundaries of licentiousness and oppression will in future be more accurately ascertained, and the true nature of civil liberty more clearly understood. The excellence of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION will then, like gold tried in the furnace, shine forth with superior lustre; mankind will forsake the barren regions of metaphysical speculation, for the cultivated

cultivated foil of experience—and considering this period of their existence in its proper light, as a state of PROBATION—will not expect from it, what it can never furnish; nor idly look “for grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles,” but regulating their conduct by the guidance of a pure and benevolent religion, will gratefully enjoy that portion of earthly happiness, which the Supreme Disposer of events has in his Wisdom allotted them; regarding it as the solace of their passage, not the ultimate object of their hopes; and looking forward to FUTURITY for a state of ABSOLUTE PERFECTION, and UNVARIED FELICITY.

I am, my Lord and Gentlemen,

with much respect,

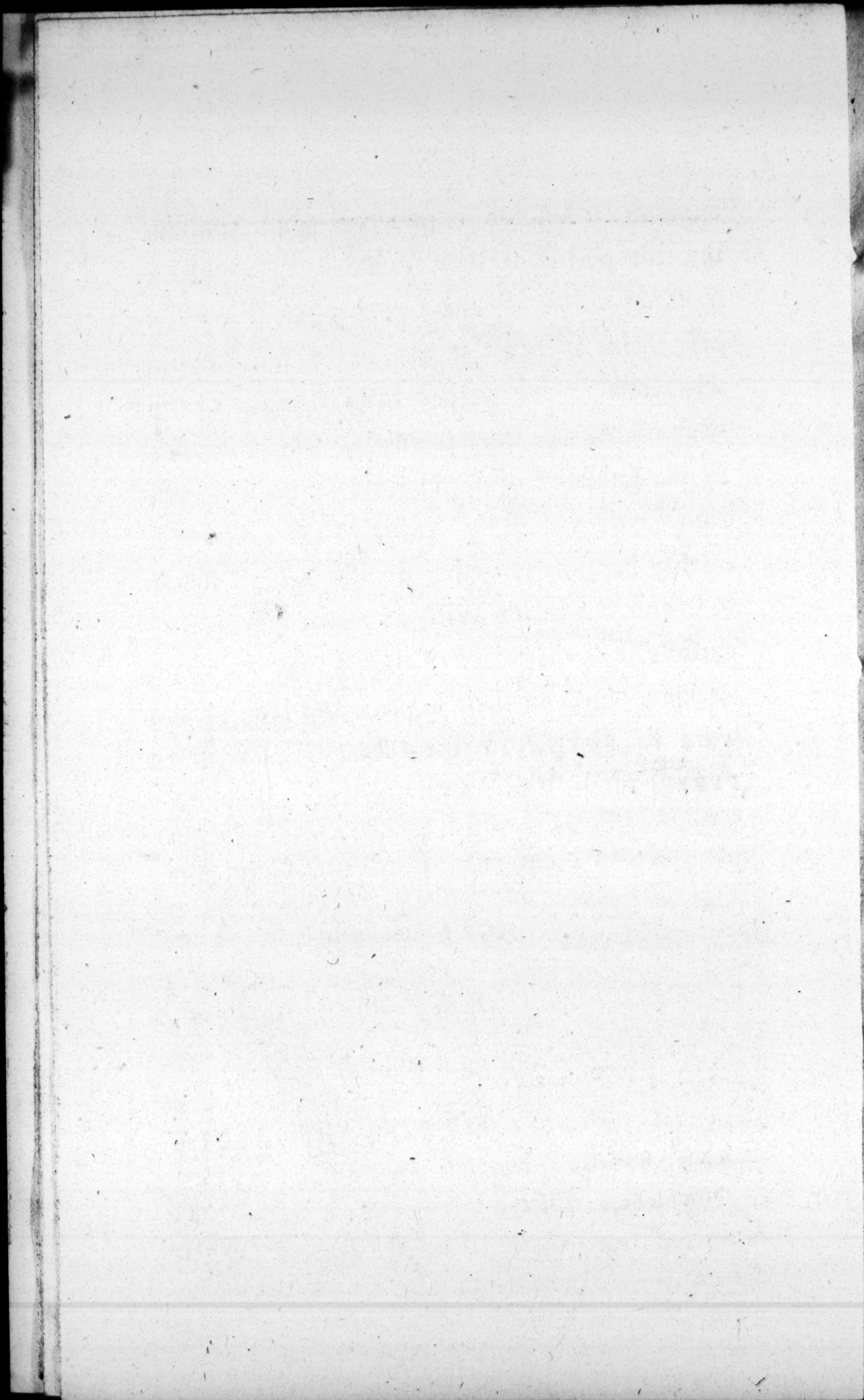
your obedient

and most humble Servant,

EDWARD BAYLY.

LAMBARTON,

November, 1793.



S E R M O N, &c.

LEVITICUS, Ch. xxvi.—Vers. 3 & 6.

If ye walk in my statutes—

—I will give peace in the land.

THE connexion between virtue and happiness is immutable, and eternal. Divine revelation declares it; our reason assents to it; universal experience confirms it. God has joined them together; man cannot put them asunder.

Individually and collectively—as private persons, as members of society, we create our own happiness or misery, by our obedience or neglect of the laws of our Creator. His wisdom and his goodness have so admirably, so beneficently adapted them to our nature, that every deviation from them tends to degrade and to debase it—we become amiable or detestable beings

ings as our conduct is directed by his unerring will, or presumptuously opposes it.—We either rise in the scale of being towards the purity and the felicity of angelic nature, or sink to the corruption and wretchedness of infernal spirits.

If we behold the interesting picture which the several societies and various nations of the earth present to us in the page of history, or if we regard with serious attention the great events which pass within our own observation—we find this important truth universally established; “That righteousness exalteth a nation—but sin is a reproach to any people.” Integrity, honour, temperance, industry, benevolence and charity, produce as their natural effects, as the tree springs from the seed—peace, security, liberty and abundance. From discord, hatred and wrath, from strife and contention, from profaneness and debauchery—what consequences can follow, but misery and want, desolation and ruin?

These indeed are truths to which few refuse their assent; but do they regulate our practice? It deeply concerns us of this nation, at this important crisis, to search out if there be any way of wickedness among us; “The axe is now laid unto the root of the tree,” “Every tree that beareth not good fruit, shall be hewn down

down and cast into the fire." The awful judgments of God are abroad in the world; his arm is bared, his vengeance is gone forth. We behold the tremendous chastisements which he hath poured out on a sinful nation, which had forsaken his counsels, and despised his ordinances. Let us beware, that similar offences call not down his wrath upon us also. Let repentance and reformation prepare the way for pardon and for peace.

To excite in our hearts that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom, and that gratitude which his numerous mercies so justly demand from us, let us reflect on the late transactions in this kingdom, and contemplate with joy, tempered with pious awe, those alarming dangers from which we have so lately escaped, that precipice, on the brink of which, we stood—let us contrast them with our present comparatively secure and prosperous state—and with humble hearts confess the good things, which the Lord hath done for us; so far beyond what our conduct had deserved.

Let us then turn our eyes to the miseries of the unhappy kingdom of FRANCE; let us trace them to their source; let them be impressed indelibly on our memories; let them be a beacon to warn us from the fatal rocks, on which

B

that

that infatuated people have made shipwreck of their happiness.

GRACIOUS GOD! to thee we owe, to thy undeserved goodness, that we have hitherto escaped them! May thy parental Providence ever watch over, and direct our course through the stormy Ocean of popular tumult to the haven of peace and tranquillity!

A few months since, how gloomy was the prospect! An evil spirit of sedition had been, with malignant zeal, diffused over the land. Idleness and rapine beheld with envious eyes the property acquired by industry, and secured by the laws. The lazy ruffian, too proud to serve, too indolent to labour, looked for plunder in a general confusion; and although a moments reflection must have shewn him, that that plunder when obtained, would render him in turn an object of rapine and slaughter to some more needy villain; yet in the rage for change this obvious truth was overlooked. The ignorant deluded multitude were seduced to become the instruments of artful and profligate men, who held out to their shallow discernment the visionary system of perfect EQUALITY, in rights, honours, and possessions. An equality—contrary to nature, which has formed men so widely different, in mental and corporeal powers; which, in the
very

very relationships created at one birth, stamps the indelible characters of superior and inferior, in the elder and the younger, the parent and the child ; An equality, which if possible to be introduced, could not subsist a day ; which would give occasion to endless contentions and massacres ; until this chaos should be methodized, by each attaining that just station and degree, which abilities and industry should assign him ; finally, an equality, contrary to the designment of Providence, and the declared will of God, which teaches us, “ to render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.”—From which we learn, that “ as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.”

From the dreadful evils attending those baleful doctrines, we have been preserved, under divine Providence, by a wise and vigorous government, which, with a firm yet cautious hand, has guided the state through the shoals and quicksands of tumult and rebellion. But to none of its prudent measures are we more indebted, than to the establishment of a MILITIA ; surely the most constitutional and proper means

of defence; where the sword is placed in the hand of the honest peasant, and guided by those whose personal interest is intimately connected with that of the state.

To this institution—and not to self-created tumultuous assemblies, may we look up for ample protection from our enemies, and for security to our liberties and privileges;—an institution truly patriotic, where the soldier and the citizen united, becomes indeed the strength and bulwark of his country.

Already by their uniform good conduct (and no where more conspicuously than in our country) have the members of it proved, with what justice the highest expectations were formed of its utility. The spirited exertions they have exhibited in support of the laws, have furnished the most complete confutation to the injurious suspicions which some affected to entertain concerning them. They have shewn themselves to be the best guardians of their country's peace and honour. We may now, under Providence, hope at length to rest secure from perpetual alarms, and fearful anticipation of civil commotions. The constitution of the British empire has fully displayed its native vigour; every honest heart throbs with zealous attachment to it; every arm is raised in its defence. The new
system

system of pretended equality is already exploded; "It has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting."

But while we congratulate each other on our present favourable prospects, let us never lose from our remembrance the late dangers which threatened us, nor the causes from whence they arose: we behold them strikingly portrayed in the present situation of FRANCE. Let us enquire into the origin of those dreadful calamities which have desolated her fair and fertile provinces; which have transformed that refined and polished nation into an horde of ferocious savages.

The research is not difficult; we clearly trace them to the genuine source of all evil.

A contempt for religion and every thing sacred, and a consequent disregard for the duties of morality, were the poisonous fountains from whence have flowed those bitter waters. "From the bottomless pit issue the plagues that overspread the earth." "They forsook the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out broken cisterns, that would hold no water." Those modern reformers, in the madness of their vanity, commenced their boasted revolution, by an avowed, a professed contempt for every institution

stitution that bore the stamp of antiquity ; all laws, ordinances and customs, human and divine, were to be cancelled ; their very records annihilated ; (A) Society was to be melted down into a mass of human beings, to take a new impression from the Seal, to which they had given their image and superscription. RELIGION was the object of their fiercest aversion ; religion bore the venerable characters of the most remote antiquity ; religion taught men to be humble, to be chaste, “ to be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love ; in honour preferring one another.” Religion taught them “ to honour all men, to love the brotherhood, to fear God, to honour the king.” Religion, therefore, as most adverse to their system, was proscribed with implacable rancour.

When the pillars of morality and virtue were thrown down, how could the superstructure stand ? That barrier once removed, every vice, every evil rushed in and deluged the land ; until at length, having desolated and disorganized the state, they proceeded to the consummation of their guilt, in the MURDER OF THEIR SOVEREIGN.

Behold the affecting picture !

A benevolent and amiable monarch dragged from a prison, where for months he had suffered with his wretched family, every studied indignity

(A) Vide Note I.

that

that meanness and cruelty could devise ; (B) carried with insulting parade through his capital, during the tedious progress of several hours ; that he might thus feel “ all the bitterness of death ;” seized by brutal and vulgar hands—bound—affixed to the fatal machine, amidst the barbarous clangor of warlike instruments, which by a savage refinement in cruelty, were employed to drown his dying declarations of his innocence,—his love for his infatuated people—his forgiveness of his enemies ; and afterwards thrown undistinguished among the heaps of dead, without the rites of sepulture, or a stone to tell where he lay.

But his memory is engraven on the **HEARTS** of men : Compassion for his sufferings, admiration of his virtues, pity and forgiveness for his failings, are the only sentiments which he now excites.

Who can avoid acknowledging the avenging hand of God in the calamities which almost instantly followed ? “ His blood lies on them and on their children.” (C) Since the tyrants of France have thus filled up the measure of their crimes, and have added to a proscribed and plundered nobility, a persecuted clergy, a ravaged and impoverished people—a **MURDERED KING** ;—we have seen a visible indication of the wrath

(B) Vide Note II.

(C) Vide Note III.

of

of Heaven on the land ; their projects defeated, their armies overthrown ; and at present they exhibit the awful, the tremendous spectacle of a people “ against whom vengeance is gone forth,” amongst whom “ there is a fearful looking for of fiery indignation.” Their proud Capital resembles that of the devoted Jews—when within was dissention and strife, and pestilence and famine ;—and without—desolation and the sword ;—“ when her enemies compassed her round about, and kept her in on every side”—and when she hourly expected, “ that they would lay her even with the ground, and her children within her.” (D)

Such are the deeply affecting scenes which present themselves to our reflection, on contemplating that most unhappy country.

Let us now relieve our imagination by casting our eyes at home, and confessing, with grateful hearts, what good things God hath done for us.

A while—a little while past—we had in prospect every evil which now oppresses FRANCE. Emissaries from her present rulers, had with devilish industry spread themselves through our happy, our flourishing country, to taint the sources of that happiness, by diffusing a spirit of discontent and sedition amongst our deluded peo-

ple. Too many, alas ! were the sad dupes, the self-devoted victims of their infernal arts, how many trembling wretches in some parts of the kingdom, now lie under the dreadful censure of the law, awaiting the execution of the tremendous sentence, which has ordained them to be cut off in the vigour of their days, as just and necessary sacrifices to the violated laws of their country ? How must it aggravate the misery of those unhappy men, and their forlorn families, to reflect, that they have fallen a prey to the practices of villains, who placed them to bear the burden and heat of the day ; and whose only object was plunder, under the much abused name of LIBERTY ?

Here we must surely pause, to consider how great beyond all common crimes must be the wickedness of those, who would wish to introduce confusion massacre and desolation into these countries, under the specious pretence of Reformation. In the wretched kingdom of FRANCE, there appeared to be to the honest patriot a noble course of glory open : by reforming a corrupt and oppressive government, he might hope to bestow true liberty and happiness on his country : but alas ! the HONEST PATRIOT, who wished for a wise and equitable reform, “ who desired to injure no one, to de-

grade no one, to remove no one from his just station, but to benefit each and all in their several stations," was soon supplanted in the affections of a giddy multitude, by the interested villain;—who preached peace—but designed conquest;—who pretended equality—but meant plunder;—(E) who simulated liberty—but plotted tyranny and oppression.

These have been the dreadful effects of disturbance and convulsions in the state; THERE indeed they originated from a just and noble principle—the desire of obtaining the greatest of earthly blessings—LIBERTY; the attempt was glorious, although, alas! the issue has been fatal.

But shall WE—members of the British empire, who enjoy that unrivalled constitution, which is justly held forth as the pride of these nations, and the envy of the world; shall WE, with rash and sacrilegious hands, attempt to tear down the venerable fabric of our government; with which must fall to the dust all that is dear or valuable in society; our just and equal laws—our personal security—our sweet domestic peace—our commerce—our improvements—all, all, for which heroes and patriots have fought—have bled? Shall we cast all these

(E) Vide Note V.

from us, in the vain and presumptuous expectation, of finding perfection in the crude theories, the idle impracticable speculations of visionary—or of designing, interested and wicked men?

Perfection is arrogantly assumed by a human being—it accords not with a frail and fallible creature. Let us hold fast the good we have, and not rashly dash it from us in expectation of, we know not what.

The scripture tells us “that we now know in part, but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.” But that will be “in new Heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.” We received a perfect law from our blessed Saviour himself, from Heaven, “and we have not kept it.” Let us then rest content with mediocrity, in earthly things, nor by following the meteors of a presumptuous sophistry, “while we profess ourselves to be wise, become fools indeed.”

I trust to this congregation, and in this country, which has honourably “preserved its estate while many fell”—it is superfluous to enlarge on this subject, or to use many arguments to persuade you of what you must all see and feel—that the inhabitants of these nations do indeed enjoy the most true and perfect liberty,

consistent with the restraint of vice, and the punishment of crimes; those who wish for more extended liberty, must fly from society, and seek it in the desert.

Let us put the wild speculations of the affected philosophers of France to the test of facts—"by their fruits ye shall know them."

—Providence appears to have permitted them to extend their power over almost all the neighbouring countries, with astonishing and unexampled ease and rapidity, that they might in the fullest manner develope their intentions, "and prove indeed of what spirit they were."

(F) Their success was sudden and irresistible, so as justly to alarm the most distant nations; their progress seemed to threaten a new thing in the earth; an universal and radical change of the political, ecclesiastical and civil institutions established in EUROPE. These self-created legislators of the universe, riding in the dark tempest of popular commotion, like fabled magicians, diffused all around the mist of their deceitful doctrines; and by apparently candid and benevolent sentiments, calculated to mislead men of honest intentions, but shallow understandings, they had so far imposed on the lower classes of mankind, as to impress them with the

(F) Vide Note VI.

vain

vain belief, that under their guidance a renovation of human nature would take place; nation was not to rise up against nation—"every man was to sit happy and unmolested under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and no one was to make him afraid." They were to realize the spiritual kingdom of the MESSIAH, typically predicted by Isaiah; "for brass they were to bring gold, and for iron silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron." "They were to make their officers peace, and their exactors righteousness;" "violence was to be no more heard in their land, wasting nor destruction within their borders." By the magical operation of their tree of liberty—the nature, the manners, the opinions of every nation where they should plant it, were to undergo a sudden and total revolution. MAN was to become what his Creator made him, not a perfect being, and earth a paradise. (G)

But behold the mighty enchantment dispelled—these vast, these air-built palaces dissolved, leaving not a wreck behind: before the bright beams of truth, and the test of experience, they melted as snow before the meridian sun—when full success had removed every impediment and restraint, that might have prevented the complete execution of their plans, their genuine character was dis-

(G) Vide Note VII.

played:

played:—the inhabitants of the countries they invaded, who had received them with open arms, as deliverers from oppression, found their yoke ten times more galling than that of their lawful sovereign: “ Their little finger, was heavier than his loins.” “ If he had chastised their former offences with whips, their new masters soon chastised them with scorpions:”—and what aggravated the injuries they suffered was the insulting mockery, with which they were called upon to thank their redeemers from slavery, for the unexampled blessings they had bestowed.

This outrage to common sense, and the common feelings of mankind, could scarcely be believed, had not these surprising scenes passed as it were under our eyes. We have seen every evil that war could inflict, the gift of these pretended peace makers;—robbery, murder, and sacrilege, have filled the land;—and these zealous friends have compelled men to be FREE, by every mode of TYRANNY: (H) until at length patience could no longer endure this provoking insolent affront to reason; this violent perversion of judgment and of justice;—and on the first check from an enemy, those countries *

(H) Vide Note VIII.

* Brabant. Frankfort. Savoy. Corsica.

which

which they had enslaved, under pretence of emancipation, arose against them as one man, asserted their much abused rights, and expelled, with all the energy of recovered freedom, those new Apostles of liberty, "whose teeth were spears and arrows, and their tongue, a sharp sword;"—Those military philosophers, "who call evil good, and good evil"—"who put darkness for light, and light for darkness." Their temporary conquests have enabled them to make a full display of their real principles—their genuine designs: they have been elevated to that pitch of phrensy, as to aim at the subjugation of the world;—without cause or apparent motive, in the madness of their pride, they have proclaimed war against all existing governments, against civil society itself. They went forth as the Destroyer in the Revelations, "conquering and to conquer." (I) But a benevolent Providence would no longer permit them thus to trample on all laws divine and human, and spurn at sacred order. "He has put his hook in their nose, and his bridle in their lips, and has turned them back by the way, by which they came." "In the same net which they hid privily, is their foot taken." ALL EUROPE has, on the most just and necessary principles

(I) Vide Note IX.

of self-defence, been obliged to arm against them, as the common enemy of human kind; to cut off all communication with their pestilential doctrines, and to guard against their destroying sword. (K)

On that righteous foundation we may confidently implore the protection of the Almighty for our cause; we may say in the words of the Psalmist, "Plead thou my cause, Oh GOD! against an ungodly nation; deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man." Our government is surely amply justified in making use of every precaution against their infectious intercourse, and saying to the favoured inhabitants of these kingdoms—"come out, oh my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

Great and dreadful, appear, indeed, to be the plagues which avenging Heaven has prepared for that devoted country;—every circumstance which marks a degraded and fallen state, exhibits itself among them—"they have forsaken the Lord and turned away backward; they have said in their heart, there is NO GOD."—"Their Princes * are rebellious, and companions of thieves."—The mean and the base have domi-

(K) Vide Note X.

* Orleans, alias Egalité.

nion,

nion, "and servants bear rule over them;"—"Brother rises up against brother; the hand of the father is against the son, and the hand of the son against the father."

We are told by divine authority, "that for the transgressions of a land, many are the princes thereof; but that by a man of understanding and knowledge, the state thereof shall be prolonged." How strikingly is this truth exemplified in the wild democracy of FRANCE!—her princes and rulers indeed are many;—they crowd her streets, they fill her armies;—but what man of understanding, or of knowledge, now remains to save her sinking state? every upright and honourable character among them has been proscribed;—exile, or the scaffold, has been the reward of virtue and patriotism. (L) Every individual, without exception, who has served his country as a statesman, as a warrior, in the cabinet, or in the field, has, in turn, been the victim of the jealous rage, or the blind caprice of the mad and sanguinary rabble, excited to deeds of blood and horror, by those pests of the human race; who, by the avenging providence of God, are now permitted to bear sway among them.

And can crimes like these fail to call down the wrath of Heaven?—"Shall I not visit for these

(L) Vide Note XI.

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thing

things, saith the Lord? And shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

From contemplating the tremendous judgments impending over that ill-fated country, let us turn, with grateful hearts, to the author of all good, for the blessings he has bestowed on us;—for the signal preservation which he has afforded us from similar crimes, and similar calamities:—Let us offer up our thanksgivings for these, and all other his unspeakable mercies; and not only with our lips, but in our lives, shew forth his praise.

The inhabitants of THIS KINGDOM, more especially, would be utterly without excuse, should they give ear to the suggestions of the enemies of their peace, who would maliciously diffuse amongst them a spirit of sedition: By the late wise and liberal acts of our legislature, every shadow of pretence for murmuring or discontent has been taken away for ever, from persons of every description amongst us. Our ROMAN CATHOLIC brethren in particular, have been freed from those restrictions, which had been the object of their complaints:—The arms of the constitution have been opened to embrace its subjects of every denomination, and the firmest foundation laid for future permanent peace and harmony.

Forgetting, therefore, former animosities, let us remember that we are FELLOW CHRISTI-
ANS,

ANS, who, however we differ in some points, all believe in ONE GOD, and ONE SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST THE LORD, through whom we look forward to “one great hope of our calling, even the SALVATION OF OUR SOULS.”

United thus in the bonds of charity and affection—endeavouring to purify ourselves in all holiness, and godly conversation;—having no contention, but in good works; and with zeal and singleness of heart, purposing to obey the commands of our Almighty Father;—We may confidently rely on his protection;—We may bid defiance to all our enemies;—We may trust “that he will defeat the counsels of the wicked, that he will abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices.”—
 “That under the shadow of his wings may be our refuge, until this tyranny be overpast.”—
 “Secure that he will give his blessing unto the righteous, and with his favourable kindness will defend him, as with a shield;”—That he, “who maketh wars to cease in all the world, who breaketh the bow, and knappeth the spear in funder, and burneth the chariots in the fire,” will, in his own good time, restore the blessings of peace and tranquillity to these kingdoms, and to those unhappy countries which are now more immediately afflicted with the scourges of war.

LET US, impressed with these pious sentiments—confiding in his gracious promises, and in that Wise Providence, “which alone changeth the times and the seasons,”—say now with the Psalmist,

“Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee.—Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces.—For my brethren and companions sakes, I will now say,

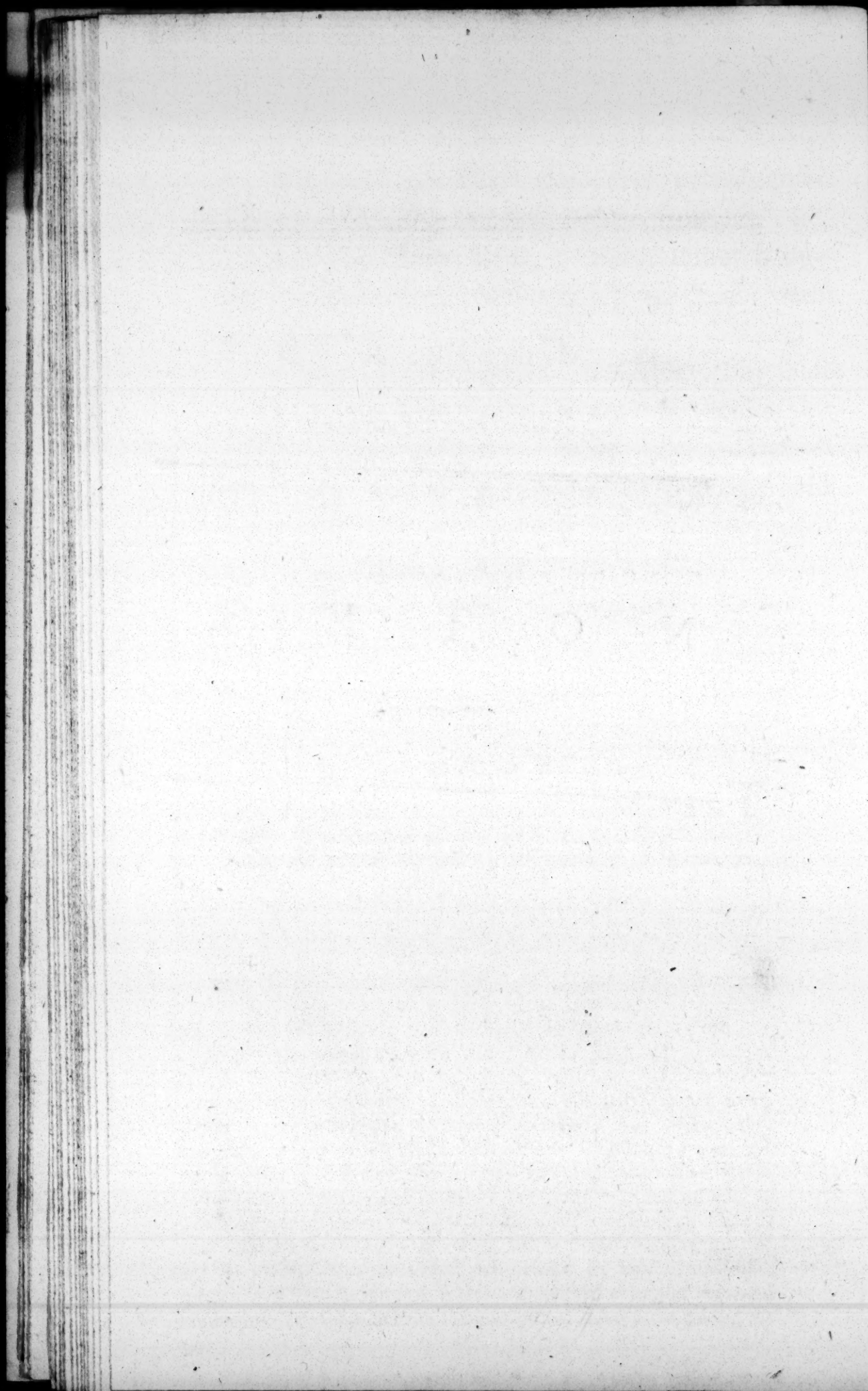
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N O T E S

TO CONFIRM AND ILLUSTRATE

SEVERAL PASSAGES OF THE TEXT,

WHICH HAVE REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION, AND THE PRESENT
WAR WITH FRANCE.

NOTE I. PAGE 14. (A)

THE fantastical reformation of the calendar, by which the French Convention abolishing the christian *ÆRA*, as a superfluous memorial of an exploded system, recur to Pagan Chronology for the divisions of time; substituting olympics for festivals, and decads for sabbaths; exhibits them in a less ferocious light indeed than other parts of their conduct, but in a point of view most truly ridiculous. Their liberal and enlarged minds, superior to prejudice, disdaining the shackles of education, affect to treat religion with contempt, as the child of folly and superstition; and yet these enlightened philosophers have given in this very reformation of the year, all the credit their authority can impart to the most absurd and abject of all superstitions. They tell us with great parade, that the new *ÆRA* is to commence from the moment when the Convention entered into office by declaring FRANCE a republic; which we are assured with true astrological minuteness of precision, happened on the 22d of September 1792, at such an hour, minute, and second: being at the instant when the sun entered into the constellation of *LIBRA*, or the balance; the auspicious symbol of the universal equality which was then established; and of which this fortunate conjunction of the heavenly bodies is presumed to be a designation: Thus leading the public mind back to the vanities of astrology, and endeavouring

ing to substitute, for the adoration of that Almighty Being who made the sun and moon, and all the host of heaven, and directs their movements by wise and immutable laws—a superstitious credulity in the supposed influence of those his creatures over the affairs of men. Into such inconsistencies, such puerile conceits, does the vanity of man betray him, when forsaking the bright and shining light of revelation, he directs his course by the meteors of his own imagination.

These extravagancies of the French reformers contrasted with their atrocious and multiplied cruelties, leave us in doubt whether most to admire the sublime flights of their genius, or the comprehensive benevolence of their hearts.

N O T E II. PAGE 15. (B)

The sufferings of the Royal Family of France, exceed whatever history presents to our view most affecting. They realize the fancied distresses of the DRAMA. Imagination cannot picture calamities more poignant, insults more gross, than they hourly experience.

While they were permitted, although in a dreary prison, to remain together, society, however mournful, was yet some alleviation of their misery;—mutual sympathy afforded mutual consolation: But let him who has a heart to feel, conceive the horrors of their final separation.

The sister, and the daughter, of the murdered King, still lovely, “tho’ with faded beauty wan,” who had shone the ornaments of a brilliant court; on whom at least, slander had never cast an imputation; exposed alone, and helpless, to the insolence of ruffians:—The heir of a great monarchy associated with the vilest of the rabble; his yet tender docile mind deprived of all useful education; uninstructed, except by a systematic institute of vice, and impiety, that it might, if possible, be rendered abject as his condition:—The daughter, the sister, the aunt, of EMPERORS; the wife, the mother, of KINGS, forced from her widowed bed at midnight, by low vulgar ruffians; torn from her infant son, her daughter, and her friend; hurried amidst the gloom and terrors of the night to a damp dungeon, expecting each moment the assassins dagger, or the more horrid form of death in the mockery of trial, and indignity of public execution; deprived of the decency of female attendance; forlorn, deserted, and as the completion of misery, anxiously anticipating the misfortunes yet awaiting her wretched children, abandoned to the cruelty of unfeeling and malignant enemies;—these are scenes from which the sickening imagination turns

turns with disgust and horror ; these are the exertions of power, transferred to the mean, the envious, and the base.

P. S. That most unhappy Princess has now closed the scene of her sufferings. The revolutionary tribunal to which she has been just delivered by the decree of the Convention, has, as might have been expected, aggravated her misery by every additional outrage that malice could devise.

In one instance indeed the extravagance of their brutality has baffled all conjecture, and almost exceeded credibilty. It was reserved for the polished, the regenerated, the philosophical French, to insult the ears of their Queen in the awful moment of impending fate,—to insult the sex,—to insult human nature,—by presuming to offer against her in open court a charge of incest with her own son, an infant of EIGHT YEARS OLD. But the power of the oppressor is limited by the grave ; “ there the wicked cease from troubling, there the weary are at rest.”

NOTE III. PAGE 15. (C)

A just retribution has already fallen on a considerable number of the regicides. That wretch who delivered up the unfortunate LOUIS to his executioners, DROUET, ci devant post master at St. Menchould who arrested him at Varennes, now deputy and commissioner, has been lately taken by the Austrians. The Mercy he shewed to his sovereign in his hour of deep distress, such Mercy he may look to find.

The base self-degraded ORLEANS, who gave his suffrage for the death of his friend, his benefactor, his kinsman, and his sovereign, in the vain hope of ascending a blood-stained throne ; has at length after a long and severe imprisonment, terminated his career of infamy by the sentence of that merciless tribunal, to whose judgment his own party, with the usual gratitude of villains, have, after employing him as a convenient tool in promoting their designs, at length consigned him ;—while the various factions in the Convention, as though agitated by a judicial phrenzy, are rapidly proceeding in the execution of divine vengeance on each other.

NOTE IV. PAGE 16. (D)

Although the desperate resistance the ruling party have hitherto been enabled to make, from the fanaticism with which they have inspired the people, has retarded, it cannot avert their ruin. The progress of the allies, though gradual, has been sure. The capture of several of the most important fortresses of the northern frontier, in the face of their armies ;—the storming the almost impregnable lines of WEISSEMBOURG, which lays all ALSACE open to the enemy ;—the surrender of

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TOULON with twenty-two of the largest ships of the line, besides frigates, a greater marine force than ever had at one time fallen into the hands of an enemy in any war ;—the consequent annihilation of their Mediterranean commerce ;—the probability that BREST, will by following the example of TOULON, give us the entire dominion of the sea ;—the loss of all the countries they had invaded and overrun ;—the flames of civil war kindled in several provinces ; and if suppressed in one part, immediately appearing in another ;—the capture of St. Domingo by the Spaniards ; the dissention and revolt of some of their other islands ;—all these circumstances taken together, form the happiest prognostics of final success : and when we consider the flagrant enormities daily committed by the Convention, when we estimate their blasphemous impieties ; we may without presumption hope for the divine assistance to our cause. Thus in a political, a moral, and a religious view, the overthrow of the present MISRULE in France seems apparent.

While, by any expedients, that faction can keep the populace of PARIS in their interests ; while they can, by ruining the farmers, arbitrarily reduce the price of corn ; and by plundering the men of property for present emergencies, render the people insensible to the want, the dangers, the calamities, which are gathering fast around them ; they may eke out their authority from day to day :—But the time will arrive when all such resources must fail : The artificial mounds which they have erected against the vengeance of the people must at length yield to the pressure : The torrent of popular fury, which they have hitherto restrained within bounds, or directed at pleasure upon the objects of their resentment, will become too mighty for resistance ; it will overbear all opposition ; it will rush in, and overwhelm them, and most probably their unhappy country, in one general destruction.

N O T E V. PAGE 18. (E)

CUSTINE was known to have amassed great wealth in his CRUSADE in Germany for the propagation of EQUALITY. He and the generals under his command, plundered all the free and independent cities on the frontiers ; exacting heavy contributions, and seizing all the plate and ornaments belonging to the churches. At MANHEIM they plundered the electoral Palace ; and it is generally understood that one of his generals, with whom, doubtless, he had a proper intelligence, seized there the ELEVEN APOSTLES IN SILVER ; and in the first transports of resentment at the characters they represented, threw them into the Rhine ; but afterwards prudently reflecting, that under another form they might be more easily accommodated to civic principles, he had them

them drawn out at night, and soon after took the trouble of converting them—into SPECIE :—He probably was of opinion that they had remained too long in a state of inactivity ; and religiously designed to make them his instruments in propagating a new system of doctrine, far superior to that for which their Prototypes had died. Custine and his generals became consequently rich objects of confiscation. The Convention from a sympathetic sensibility, wisely threw these circumstances into the shade ; and in their subsequent trials, brought forward the never-failing resource of all despotisms, the charge *Læsæ Majestatis* ; which was sufficiently comprehensive to ensure their condemnation, without developing their own real motives.

Impeachments and confiscations are thus of late become established engines of finance ; every sentence of a state criminal confiscates his effects ; although this practice be in direct and glaring opposition to one of the principal and fundamental articles of the RIGHTS OF MAN, as pompously declared in their own boasted Constitution ; which lays it down as an inviolable axiom, that whoever by any crime shall have forfeited his life to the law, shall be considered as having, in the execution of his sentence, expiated his offence ; and that his innocent children, or other relatives shall not be injured in person, property or even reputation ; but shall succeed unmolested to all his estates, chattles and, honours :—while HONOUR dwelt in FRANCE. But in this, as in the general tenor of their late conduct, the Convention have acted according to the most approved maxims of oriental tyranny. PACHAS, and COMMISSIONERS pillage the provinces ; they suck up the wealth of the people ; and then (as Hamlet says) “ ’tis but squeezing you, and sponge, you shall be dry again.”

The innumerable charges of peculation brought before the Convention, against their own members, generals, contractors, &c. &c. practically demonstrate that corruption has pervaded the entire mass ; and are the severest satire on the pretended immaculate purity of the revolutionary principle.

Let those who affect to boast of republican disinterestedness, remember SEMONVILLE, who was arrested in ITALY with the crown jewels, and other chief valuables of the Garde Meuble, or Royal Wardrobe ; which by their own decrees should have been applied to the service of the state ; and for the supposed robbery of which, the JUNTO had the affrontery to condemn and execute a number of subordinate knaves, who were the predetermined victims of this masterpiece of villainy.

N O T E VI. PAGE 20. (F)

GREGOIRE has of late in a pompous memorial displayed the heroism and patriotic self-denial of the SANS CULOTTES ; but let

us observe, that all these boasts of high-flown patriotism, given in swelling and bombastic language, are totally unconnected with morality. They are affected imitations of the ferocious manners of the SPARTANS and ROMANS, those cruel oppressors of mankind, those invaders of the liberties and rights of others; who cherished the fierce and savage propensities of their nature, and renounced or subdued all the tender and amiable affections, all the finer feelings of the soul, that they might with impunity, outrage and insult them in others. Their patriotism excited them to tyrannize and oppress. The final object which they proposed to attain from their stern, and unyielding spirit, was, to enable that FACTION of their fellow creatures, called their country, to triumph over, to ravage, and to destroy the rest of the WORLD. The conquests of ALEXANDER, and CÆSAR were not so destructive, nor subversive of the rights of mankind, as those of the warlike republics. They systematically trampled under foot the privileges of all whom they could subdue; and under the banners of liberty, became the most licentious tyrants. The uniform conduct of the SPARTANS, ATHENIANS, CARTHIGINIANS and ROMANS, makes it almost unnecessary to select examples, where their whole history exhibits a vile conspiracy against the rights of other nations. The treatment of the Grecian cities subdued by the ATHENIANS; of the MEDITERRANEAN islands by the CARTHAGINIANS, who pulled up their vines, that they might not interfere with their own commerce; of the SAMNITES by the ROMANS; and above all, that of the HELOTES by the SPARTANS, their former countrymen and allies; display republican virtue and honour in their genuine colours.

The late conduct of the French in Brabant, Savoy, and Germany; their recent edict to destroy the rich and beautiful city of Lyons, for presuming to withdraw itself from their iron yoke; their savage decrees against those innocent foreigners, who on the faith of nations have for years resided amongst them; their impotent, yet diabolical denunciations of utter destruction, against England;—all breathe the same fierce, bloody, and implacable spirit; and amply prove that the Convention wants but sufficient power, to equal, if not exceed in horrors, the most atrocious examples of Republican Antiquity.

How eminently superior the noble fortitude of the CHRISTIAN, to this fierce pseudo-patriotic turbulence of the atheistical DEMOCRAT! The Christian trusts in God, "and he knows in whom he trusts." If in the discharge of his duty, he encounters difficulties, he surmounts them with dignity, or he submits to them with resignation. The self-sufficient haughtiness of the Republican infidel renders him an object, in power, of detestation and horror—in adversity, of contempt and scorn.

The Christian's attachment to his country is ardent and sincere; he venerates, he respects it, as a parent, but he does not
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idolize it, as a divinity.—He esteems, he loves it—yet still he remembers that it is not his abiding place, “he looks for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.” To his country,

“ His heart, his love, his griefs are given ;”

“ But all his serious thoughts have rest in heaven.”

—He gives it in his affections, a just, a decided preference to all the rest of the world ; but he does not endeavour to aggrandize it by the oppression, the injury and destruction of his fellow-creatures :—His benevolence, like his religion, is universal ;—as the genial warmth of the sun it diffuses itself over the whole human race ; it pervades the creation ; it cheers, it vivifies :—The fierce Republican patriotism, like the scorching fire of a comet consumes and destroys whatever it encounters in its portentous course.

NOTE VII. PAGE 21. (G)

The understanding of the public is hourly insulted by the reiterated assertion, that all the evils which have accompanied the French Revolution, have been solely occasioned by RESISTANCE. We are told that the French Legislators had sublimely imagined a scheme of Universal Regeneration, which they would have carried into complete effect, had they not been interrupted in their glorious career by the opposition they experienced from an ungrateful world, insensible to their merits, and blind to their own happiness. Their system, was an emanation from supreme wisdom ; it wanted only supreme power to accomplish it ; which they modestly expected should have been yielded to them by the general consent of mankind.

This arrogant assumption has been repeatedly confuted ; it is with effrontery worthy of its abettors still confidently renewed. The injustice, the cruelties, the multiplied oppressions of the monsters who desolate France, are all attributed to those who impeded them in their progress towards that renovation of all things, that golden age, which is held up in prospect, as the certain result of their benevolent labours for the advantage of their fellow-creatures. By an impudent sophism, merely calculated to impose on the ignorant—*ad captum vulgi*—they first assume, as an indubitable truth, a position from which reason must ever dissent ; that their wild theory of Equality would infallibly ensure universal and permanent happiness ; and then argue from thence, that every calamity has arisen from their not being permitted to reduce it to practice. But reason demonstrates that the whole of their assertion is absolutely false—that their theory is utterly impracticable—that equality, in the latitude in which they would understand it, is contrary to nature, and inconsistent with society ;—that such a system, if introduced, could not possibly
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be maintained, from the want of all subordination, and of every principle of self-preservation. The strong would oppress the weak, the cunning defraud the artless, the malevolent destroy the innocent ; all would infallibly fall into confusion and disorder ; a crisis must ensue ; the convulsions, the struggles of the disease would be terrible, and a political demise, or pure despotism, the certain issue.

These are the plain dictates of reason : but reason is not consulted. The miserable misguided people, deceived by these state empirics with confident promises of success, which are ever given with more impudent assurance as the case is more utterly desperate ; and flattered with the vain expectation of a PANACEA for every evil ; are induced to resign themselves with implicit faith to their guidance and direction ; till by rashly tampering with health and happiness, they perish just victims to their impatience and absurd credulity ; and the valetudinarian's sarcastic epitaph, records their folly :—" I was well, would be better, took physic, and am HERE."

But independent of that just suspicion with which arrogant pretensions should ever be received, the French reformers, in many of their first public acts, exhibited such plain indications of their future designs, as might, if attended to, have sufficiently guarded the world against the danger of a misplaced confidence in their high-sounding philanthropic professions. At the beginning of their career, when instead of meeting opposition, they were hailed as patriots, as saviours of their country ; when the general wish, the general favour accompanied their labours ; when the heart of every member of the British empire expanded with generous exultation, that England's antient rival, now no more a rival, was about to participate in all the blessings of liberty ; when no event had taken place to give asperity to their minds, or rashness to their counsels ; when their course to the temple of glory was as smooth as it was honourable ;—did they not in the wantonness of power, in the vanity of their metaphysical theories, " cast a pearl away richer than all their tribe ?" did they not neglect, the great, the propitious opportunity of conferring permanent happiness on their country, by establishing a free, a well regulated, and well balanced government ; from the ambitious desire of ruling in a turbulent DEMOCRACY ?

Steadily adhering to this predetermined plan, they yielded indeed to the necessity of the moment, so far as to consent to the establishment of a nominal Monarchy ; but of which, they had so artfully undermined the pillars, that it must needs fall at the first blast of popular commotion, which they could at pleasure excite. To this scope all their actions tended. As a prologue to the system of universal equality ; by the grossest injustice, the most unprovoked aggression, they despoiled the nobles of their titles and honorary distinctions ; which gratified the dignified feelings

feelings of a person of elevated birth, and held up the most flattering object to emulation, without insulting or injuring the meanest peasant. All privileges personal or territorial which bore the smallest tendency of that nature, the nobles themselves had long before, voluntarily, and cheerfully surrendered to the general good.

The clergy were by ONE VOTE deprived of their possessions, secured to them by every sanction which can convey a right to property. The late possessors, of whatever rank or merit, indiscriminately reduced to a precarious subsistence on the eleemosynary stipends assigned them by their oppressors; which have been, (like poor LEAR's followers,) daily diminishing—until at length they are reduced to nothing*.

The royal authority, which in name they were then compelled to sanction, they reduced within such narrow limits, and fenced in with so many restraints, as made it impossible for the person who had the name of KING, to exercise the office with any advantage to the public. He was a cypher in the hands of a faction, who, when by their own management every thing went to confusion, were prepared to throw the blame on the King, for disorders, which they themselves had put it out of his power to prevent. The ineffectual VETO, which they had bestowed on him, was, and was intended to be, a snare, into which he could not possibly avoid falling: As no intermediate power existed to compromise between them, they well knew that the first attempt he should make to exercise it, must put him at issue with the people: They were all—he was, "*vox et præterea nihil.*" As it was planned, so it happened; when he, no less humanely than constitutionally, opposed his VETO to their savage decree of exile against his family and friends, which had probably been passed with that very design; the experiment cost him his crown and his life.

The same republican faction compelled him to proclaim war against AUSTRIA, that they might from the calamities which it would induce, find occasion to vilify him to the people, as the

* This treatment, cruel and severe as it appears, was yet to them but the beginning of sorrows: The subsequent inhuman persecutions carried on against them, prove that extermination, not reform, was the object of their tyrants. The massacre of a number of the highest dignified clergy, amongst the other ORLEANS prisoners at VERSAILLES; of the Priests of the Irish College at PARIS; the diabolical contrivance of embarking hundreds of the Nonjuring clergy at MARSEILLES for Italy, and then scuttling the vessels, and leaving them to perish; and lastly, the sweeping decree, which sentences to transportation for life to the pestilential climate of GUIANA, all priests who shall be found in their territories, have given the coup de grace to the exercise of religious worship in France. The present soi-disant bishops, we are told, assume, for the CROSIER and MITRE, the PIKE and RED BONNET.

cause of their misery; and thus introduce a DEMOCRACY;—that DEMOCRACY—under the fangs of which, (thanks to an avenging providence,) the heads of that very faction, BRISSOT, GAUDET, VERGNIAUX, &c. &c. those very men, who openly boasted of fabricating that infernal plot, have just now fallen. The plot, as far as they were in the secret, went on well;—but there was an under game, of which they were not aware, played by subordinate actors; who, when those prime movers of mischief had cleared the ground for them, “arose and pushed them from their stools.” Their fate is most memorable, and singularly appropriate to their deserts. They provoked the war, in order to destroy the king, and form a Republic; the Republic sentences them to death for that very measure:—They libel all other governments; they fall victims to the tyranny themselves have introduced:—Their brutality denies their king the last sad consolation of expressing his dying sentiments to his people; they are sentenced by the FIAT of a faction without the privilege which in all other times and countries has been allowed to the lowest and vilest criminals, of pleading in their own defence. “Even-handed justice returns the ingredients of their poisoned chalice to their own lips.”

Thus the rulers of the French democracy are daily changing from bad to worse. Republicans, Men of the Mountain, Brissotines, Maratists, Anarchists, all the motley crew of political fanatics, more bloody and desperate, than those (called religious,) who harassed England last century, mutually supplant and destroy each other; and succeed to a short-lived authority, by means as atrocious, by a tenure as precarious, as the DEY OF ALGIERS, holds his unstable throne.

Before this heterogeneous composition of vice and folly, this farrago of factions, it was expected that the BRITISH LION should crouch. Degrading thought! How profligate must those men be, who in hopes of attaining power, would sink their country to such abject meanness; which would tarnish her glory to the remotest posterity, “to the last syllable of recorded time.”

But granted it were expedient, or it were imagined to be necessary, to avert a war, by courting insult, and wearing the livery of our foes; by renouncing our independence, and becoming a department of the regenerated empire of FRANCE;—with whom were we then, or are we now to treat? or which of the ever-changing constitutions, and codes of laws, ALL PERFECT AND IMMUTABLE, that they have thought proper to promulgate, are we to adopt?—Lives there that subject of the British empire, who would not revolt at the idea, that his Sovereign should be so far disgraced, as to be compelled to hold intercourse with that band of murderers, dyed in the blood of their good and amiable King;

King; and but now warm from the slaughter of his wretched Queen?

It is still urged that these enormities were the offspring of necessity; that opposition roused them to vengeance; and that driven to desperation, they became savage and ferocious. But let it be remembered, that the time they chose to immolate their KING, was the moment of victory; when their successes were great, as unexpected; and their vanity had already denounced the leaders of the BRITISH SENATE as culprits who should soon appear before their revolutionary tribunal; when all EUROPE was in their imagination subjected to their power;—then did their genuine spirit appear; then at least, necessity could not be pleaded, “to excuse their devilish deeds.”

Yet surely weak is that plea which they urge in common with all tyrants. Few are by nature cruel as the FRENCH: few have ever danced and sung, and exulted over victims writhing in the agonies of death. The usurpers and conquerors who have desolated the world, whether republican or monarchical, have seldom, but from opposition, let loose the demons of revenge and slaughter: although republican oppression has ever been most galling and severe, where the number of tyrants excludes responsibility, and covers shame.

Had universal submission followed their commands, had no opposition, no conspiracies attended their usurpations, HERON, JUGURTHA, and MACBETH, had perhaps been mild and benevolent; for they all possessed great and noble qualities, although subservient to ambition. AUGUSTUS himself, when opposition ceased by the proscription and extermination of all his enemies, became a just and excellent prince, and ruled long in peace and honour. But must we infer from these examples that none must ever venture to oppose the caprices of every upstart faction, every wild enthusiast, every fanatical state empiric, who rashly attempts to destroy the constitution of his country, in the presumptuous confidence of reanimating it with youthful vigour?—In this experiment we are desired placidly to acquiesce; and to expect with patience the effect of MEDEA’S KETTLE; although before it can be made, we must consent to be cut in pieces by the forcerers.

They tell us (as his executioners did Don Carlos when about to be put to death by order of his tyrant Father Philip the Second) that we oppose our benefactors; that we ought with gratitude to submit to their kind exertions for our good; that all was intended for our advantage. We must resign our property, our laws, our religion without a struggle; we must divest ourselves of all our earthly possessions, to await for retribution in the MILLENNIUM which these political impostors assure us shall reward our implicit faith in them.

To those who from religious motives, whether well or ill founded, resign the conveniencies and blessings of life, the high rewards assigned to their self-denial offer an ample and glorious recompence. The earth shrinks to a point when viewed from the heavens. But the passports of a MARAT and a ROBESPIERE will scarcely be admitted at the gates of Paradise. What retribution then can they make to those fools, who with obedience more passive, submission more degrading than was ever in time past paid to their great prototype the chief of the assassins, denominated the Old Man of the MOUNTAIN; yield up their present all, and incur the certain loss of every thing that is worth possessing, to gratify the humour of these experimental philosophers?

Wherefore then should we NOT resist this insolent encroachment on our rights? On what grounds of reason, of prudence or of common sense are we bound to submit to the capricious plans of every new faction, of every visionary state projector, who from the vanity of realizing his fanciful theories, would cruelly sport with the happiness and lives of millions? We are told that opposition will induce greater calamities. When a villain breaks open an house and plunders an innocent man of his property, had he not met resistance, perhaps, he might not have murdered him. If when two armies meet to engage, one should lay down its arms and surrender to the other without a blow; there would indeed be no immediate slaughter, no tumult, no confusion, no appearance of defeat or of victory: but the power of resistance being surrendered, all other power is transferred: the lives and liberties of the yielding party are from that moment at the mercy of their enemies.

If ENGLAND had contentedly and unresistingly suffered the FRENCH Convention to undermine her constitution, to corrupt her people, to seduce and debauch her armies;—had she permitted her own Revolutionary Societies to correspond and fraternize with the Jacobin Club at PARIS, to preach sedition, and excite massacres;—to establish National Guards under their command with emblematical buttons of a Crowned Head and an Axe;—had the government, as in all civility and revolutionary politeness they were bounden to do, resigned all authority to those who had themselves assured us, that they knew so much better how to manage it, and who, if after that, proof could be wanting, had the living example of FRANCE to confirm their modest assertions;—and had government further to ensure these blessings, consented to the landing of 100,000 Sans Culottes to new model the state, and practically teach the doctrine of EQUALITY;—had things thus fallen out, as in all reason they should have done;—struggle indeed there would for the present have been none; the contest cannot be apparently violent, “ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo antum:”

tantum :” Quiet possession would have precluded force, and the present evils of war, could not have reached those who were determined without resistance to submit to every calamity that conquest can inflict.

The stubborn and untoward nature of JOHN BULL did not relish the experiment ; and this mighty project, like a South Sea bubble, burst, “and left not a wreck behind.” It must be confessed all in this kingdom did not exhibit the same wayward disposition : French fraternization for a time was much admired, and displayed itself in its genuine effects ; a reasonable proportion of murders, robberies, and other outrages were committed : CA IRA went on successfully ; but of late the executioners of justice have with notorious INCIVISM greatly impeded its progress.

But although Great Britain with successful energy arrested the progress of French treachery, and warded off the blow that was aimed at her heart ; yet it is most false, that she either provoked, or sought a war. Self preservation was her only object. When the Convention intoxicated with vanity had by their memorable decree of November 1792, proclaimed war A LA MORT, against all monarchies, and had openly promised protection and fraternization to all people who should exercise “the most sacred duty of insurrection,” and rebel against their respective governments ;—when she openly appealed from the legislature of England to the populace—when she corresponded with our seditious assemblies, and announced the immediate overthrow of our constitution—it was surely time to make preparations of defence ; the MILITIA were called out, and proved the salvation of the country internally, while the ALIEN BILL cut off foreign infectious intercourse. These were not mere prudential, they were most necessary and indispensable measures of self-defence. They were not—they could not be offensive or injurious to the French, farther than as they obviated their insidious practices ; as they disconcerted their systematic plan of undermining the strength of that edifice, which they had intended to assault. England was then to resist the aggression, or to succumb under it : A simple armed neutrality, without the operation of the ALIEN BILL, would have completely met the wishes of the Convention : It would have left them the full and unrestrained opportunity of disseminating their pestiferous doctrines, and fomenting sedition amongst the people ; until the poison should have so far pervaded the mass, as to bid defiance to all remedy. The then undisturbed commerce of France would have furnished her with the sinews of war, which she would have carried on against other powers, and in all likelihood with success ; until having compelled them to a dishonourable peace, she would have assailed her antient rival on the ocean with every possible advantage. With forces

flushed with conquest, encouraged by plunder, and animated by enthusiasm, she would have meditated, and but too probably, when aided by domestic treachery, thus fatally permitted to grow up to maturity, have finally accomplished the overthrow, at once, of our CONSTITUTION, and of our EMPIRE. Thus would the antient and venerable fabric of our state, which had resisted the rude assaults of time and hostile aggression for successive centuries; which might almost have withstood the warring world in arms—have fallen beneath the mean practices of a foiled and malignant enemy.

“ Talibus insidiis, perjuriq̃ue arte Sinoñis,
 “ Credita res : Captivę dolis——
 “ Quos neq̃ue Tydides, nec Laryssęus Achilles,
 “ Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinę.”

The ministers who should thus timidly and meanly have compromised the safety, nay the existence of their country; and by counselling “ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth, not peace,” have delivered her up—(as SAMPSON)—shorn of her strength, into the hands of her hereditary, and implacable foes; had been indeed the worst of traitors: But our enlightened and energetic administration baffled the despicable attempt of a recreant nation; and retorted on their own heads the effects of their insidious artifices: We may now exclaim triumphantly, “NEQUICQUAM patrias tentasti lubricus artes.”

Defeated thus in their scheme of proceeding by *SAP*, they were obliged to have recourse to *STORM*:—they were enraged at being detected in their base felonious attempt; “Hinc illę lacrymę.” Hence all their rage and clamour. They instantly (upon our passing the Alien Bill) declared war against us with all circumstances of violent and passionate resentment, and issued out their infamous insulting libel on the British constitution: that libel, which BRISSOT read in the Convention—BRISSOT, who thought himself the most expert engineer, but who has had his day;—and is now supplanted by others, “who dived one yard below his mines, and blew him at the moon.”

But whatever might have been the mistaken opinion of men of honest intentions, who judged of others from their own hearts, none can now pretend to be deceived. The atrocious crimes the Convention daily commit, must fill every breast with indignation, and raise every arm to vengeance.

The recent murder of the Queen, and the late decree for arresting and confiscating the property of every British subject, must surely from very shame, silence their former panegyrists: They must be considered as a people abandoned to all wickedness: Our war with them, as the most just, self-defensive, and unavoidable, that one nation ever was compelled to wage with

another.

another. The exertion of every man within his circle of influence should be called out, in support of the constitution of his country, and of her mild and beneficent government; with the fullest conviction, that with them, our liberty, our property, our happiness, domestic and political, must stand or fall. This war has been reproachfully and most falsely styled a combination against liberty: It is in truth, a just and necessary association, in defence of all that can be dear in society, against unprovoked aggression, against licentiousness, confusion, and anarchy, against massacre and desolation. Had the scheme of the FRENCH projectors been successful, and realized in all its extent; the calamities of EUROPE when over-run by barbarians at the dissolution of the ROMAN EMPIRE, would have been revived in all their horrors; nay, exceeded: as the refined cruelties of a corrupted society are ever more exquisitely severe, than the rough unstudied violence of a savage.

NOTE VIII. PAGE 22. (H)

THE extravagant acts of tyranny and oppression daily committed by the rulers in the French Convention, succeed each other so rapidly, each rising in a dreadful climax of horror, of cruelty, and of outrage above the preceding, that they confound and appal the mind; and leave in doubt whether most to admire the insolent contempt of decency and all semblance or pretence of justice in those tyrants, or the supine and abject submission of the infatuated populace; who, caught by the spell which the magic word LIBERTY diffuses, crouch and bend under deeds of despotism more atrocious than the records of Asiatic monarchies can furnish.

The transactions of the last month appear indeed to be the summit of the climax. The force of tyranny can no further go: The murder of the Queen—the execution of twenty-one deputies, sentenced in the gross, without separate trials, or being allowed to plead in their own defence;—their decreeing all the members of the Constituent Assembly, who above two years ago, under the inviolability of their function had protested against the new constitution, to be in a state of arrest, that is singling them as victims to popular fury;—and above all, the memorable decrees for arming all France, and for raising unlimited contributions, by which the person and property of every inhabitant is by law subjected to the absolute and discretionary power of their commissioners;—with those for enforcing domiciliary visits, which expose to all the insolence of office the most private transactions of domestic life, which intrude on the hour of rest, or the chamber of sickness; insult the delicacy of female retirement; and violate the sacred confidence of friendship, the unre-
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served effusions of the soul in familiar and intimate correspondence;—amount altogether to such an excess of tyranny as the bare attempt at would hurl the Sultan of Turkey from his throne. The late revolt of several provinces, shews indeed, that their oppressions are at length become past endurance: The ruling party have strained their authority beyond its strength, and they will soon find it in their hands a broken bow.

But when we make use of the terms, **RULING PARTY**; we are naturally led to enquire, what precise ideas they should convey; or how it comes to pass, that in a free republic, **ONE AND INDIVISIBLE**, formed on the basis of universal representation, any party should exist, or any rule be acknowledged, but that of the supreme will of the whole, freely and fairly collected: The fiat of the **SOVEREIGN PEOPLE**. Such is the theory; but the practice is comprised in a single word, **TERROR**. A **JUNTO** by means of a banditti of Paris mob dictate to the Convention; sanguinary and sudden executions follow the smallest intimation of a difference of opinion in the members: The Convention of consequence were unanimous; they issue decrees which are accepted by similar means in the provinces. When the Convention with imposing pomp assumes the style and character of the general and freely-chosen representative of the Republic; and promulgates its decrees in the name of the sovereign people, which appear to be received with willing and prompt obedience as the concentrated wisdom of the nation;—the stage effect is fine, and presents us with the sublimest spectacle: but when we examine the mechanism, when we analyze the composition, we perceive that the whole is a splendid deception: that nothing can be less free than the obedience of the people; nothing further from unanimity than the opinion of the Convention:—a small minority governs by the guillotine, and by cannon.

When the question of the criminality of **FAYETTE** was agitated in the National Assembly, 8th August, 1792, a very great majority declared in his favour*. The sovereign people of Paris not relishing this decision, took care to anticipate the debate which was soon after to have taken place on the conduct of the King, and with respect to which, this question of Fayette was considered as a prelude, or trial of strength: they employed the following day in such preparatory measures as appeared proper for asserting their supreme sovereignty, and were most agreeable to their system of government. The members who had voted in favour of Fayette, were publicly insulted, struck, and threatened with assassination in the streets; they were, while sitting in their place in debate, abused and hooted by the populace from the galleries; the King and Queen were spoken of in

* Of near 200.

terms the most gross and indecent; an armed banditti composed of Paris mob and Fœderés from Marseilles and Bretagne were collected to storm the THUILLERIES, and massacre the royal family, under pretence of petitioning the King to withdraw his VETO from the decree against the emigrants:—but the grand manœuvre, and which more than all the rest contributed to the success of their plan, was an act of usurpation, altogether new and unprecedented: without giving any notification, or observing any legal form, they, in the course of the night before the memorable 10th of August, deposed the then existing commune, or council of Paris; and elected or nominated in their room the most violent of the Jacobin faction*. This new council suspected MANDAT, the commander of the national guards, of the treasonable intention of defending the palace of the THUILLERIES, if assailed (as was threatened) by an armed mob. He must be removed. He was summoned to the council hall. Not having heard in the confusion of that dreadful night, that the old council had been deposed; (like so many Kings of Brentford) he attended the summons, and after a short interrogatory, was assassinated as he retired from the hall, and SANSTERRE the brewer appointed in his room. The head thus removed, only at the expence of usurpation, fraud and murder, success was certain. The national guards scarcely knowing whom to obey, first wavered, and finally joined the insurgents: the palace was stormed: The SWISS who alone remained faithful to their trust, and the innocent domestics, were all savagely massacred. The banditti proceeded with heads upon pikes to the National Assembly, where the King and his family had taken refuge. The members felt their situation. It precluded all debate. The deposition of the unfortunate LOUIS was immediately decreed in his presence, without a dissenting voice.

Last March or April a decree had been passed by a large majority of the Convention, appointing a committee with powers to bring to justice the promoters and perpetrators of assassination and other disorders in PARIS. This was a cruel restraint on liberty. The Convention in the beginning of May were called upon by the clamors of the populace to repeal this decree. Conceiving themselves, and not the Paris mob, to be the representatives of FRANCE, they refused to comply. An armed body with the military commandant at their head, surrounded the supreme legislature in their chamber of session. Considering this proceeding to be not perfectly consistent with freedom of debate, they solemnly entered a protest against the violence offered them, and attempted to retire. They found a semicircle of bayonets guarding the entrance, with some cannon primed and pointed. They were told by the command-

* Vide Dr. Moore's Journal, page 87 and sub.

ant that it was the will of the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, that they should return to their chamber, and repeal the obnoxious decree. They obeyed. A perfect unanimity has since prevailed, and the sovereign people reign triumphant.

But metaphysicians will still enquire, who these same sovereign people are, or in what their identity consists? The sovereign people throughout FRANCE, according to their own forms elect a Convention, the organ of their supreme will. The sovereign people, of perhaps a section or two of Paris, that is a hundredth or a thousandth part of the whole sovereign, assemble about this Convention, and not being acute logicians enough to distinguish critically between the whole and its parts, they at the point of the bayonet dictate decrees in diametrical opposition to the will of a large majority of that very Convention. Thus a JUNTO directs a mob of some of the suburbs of Paris; they dictate to the Convention; the decrees of the Convention govern France; and France SHOULD reign empress of the world. By fair conclusion in Sorites it follows, that the JACOBIN CLUB are DE JURE, supreme directors of the universe;—while the sovereign people one and indivisible, although multiplied or divided, (either term may serve) as many times as there are mobs in France, still preserves its individuality, and identity; and like the Polypus, when cut into several pieces, is in each part perfect and entire, till it becomes as difficult to determine the true situation of this ever-changing versatile individuality, as for philosophers to fix the seat of the soul in man;—or as it proved to MARTINUS SICKLERUS of classical memory, to ascertain that of Sir John Suckling's old pair of black silk stockings; which we are told preserved their identity, although by frequent darning with red worsted, they had at length become a pair of red worsted ones.

It happens also rather unluckily for the boasted territorial indivisibility of the Republic and its adventitious members, that every ostentatious parade which has been made by the several Generals of its unity and individuality, has proved a certain prelude to the dismemberment of the country, and the fall of the general. DUMORIER in his gasconading dispatches affirmed that BRABANT was inseparably united to the Republic, one and indivisible;—that HOLLAND would soon partake of the same honour;—nay, it was expected, that by the middle of May, he would dine with the Revolutionary Societies in triumph in LONDON. In May he was indeed in London—a fugitive, and an exile—and the PRINT SHOPS display the grotesque spectacle of his dining there in state.—HOLLAND has not yet been honoured with his presence, and BRABANT inseparably to united France, has adhered so closely, that in the subsequent disruption, it has torn off a considerable portion of the contiguous provinces. The French legislators had
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probably never read an old author of some authority, who says, "that no (wife) man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up, taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse." CUSTINE generalissimo of the eastern armies, states, that MENTZ is inseparably and eternally united to France; and that the Prussian army is on the point of falling beneath his victorious arms.—In two months Custine is guillotined, and MENTZ is taken by the Prussians; and with similar principles of adhesion, has drawn along with it, all ALSACE. HOUGHARD announces the defeat of the Dutch at Poperingue, the approaching expulsion of the allies from Flanders, and its Reunion with France.—The allies return, sur ses pas, St. Quesnoy is taken, and Houghard is denounced, (by what appears to be rather a hard sentence) for not driving the ENGLISH into the sea at DUNKIRK. MONTESQUIEU declared Savoy a department of France—most of Savoy was very soon recovered, and Montesquieu is an emigrant, and a proclaimed traitor. We wait with impatience, the final issue of JOURDAN's gasconades, and of the adventurous enterprize of the Sans Culotte general, who lately pledged himself to the Convention, that he would annex SPAIN as a province to the Republic, and drag the Spanish tyrant, in chains to the bar of the Revolutionary tribunal. The Sans Culottes it is to be presumed have never heard of DON QUIXOTTE's engagements with windmills, anecromncers.

N O T E IX. PAGE 23. (1).

Their vanity enflamed to extravagance by success, induced them to aspire to universal conquest. Even now in the hour of humiliation the haughty style of victors is not relinquished.

The late determination to ravage England with 100,000 Sans Culottes and to lay proud LONDON in the dust, as denounced by their modern Cato, BARRERE, who with great pomp pronounced "*Delenda est Carthago*" is no less expressive of their wisdom, than of their humanity.

The ferocious spirit which breathes in these denunciations against their enemies, and which they fully realize wherever they have power, excites the utmost horror. The fantastical levity with which they dress out the frippery of a procession, and crowd the theatres and other places of amusement in the midst of massacre, adds contempt to indignation. Dr. MOORE tells us,
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that

* The latest accounts tell us of the instalment of the GODDESS of LIBERTY, upon the ALTAR of REASON, in the TEMPLE, formerly the cathedral of NOTRE

that in the dreadful month of August 1792, when Paris flowed with blood ; the populace, equally volatile and cruel ; danced and sung, and laughed at pantomimes exhibited in the streets, regardless of the scenes around them.

He mentions a curious device excellently calculated (no doubt) to render them staunch patriots ; and we must allow, admirably well adapted to the genius of the nation. " A fellow (he tells us) on a kind of stage, had a monkey who played a thousand tricks. When the man called him aristocrate, the monkey flew at his throat with every mark of rage, but when he called him un bon patriote, the monkey expressed satisfaction, and caressed his master." He asserts, that " he saw a great many monkeys every day who affected to be bons patriotes." This we can easily credit, as we could furnish him with many examples in kind. He concludes, " one has no great objection to those patriots who dance about like monkeys, but they who to the airs of the monkey join the disposition of tygers, and dance with heads upon pikes, are horrible." That happy allusion of the tyger and the monkey, which their panegyrist Voltaire honoured them with, is every day more strikingly exemplified.

N O T E X. PAGE 24. (K.)

It cannot remain a doubt in any rational unprejudiced mind, that the war with France is purely defensive ; indeed indispensably necessary for self preservation. Her philosophers have formed a deep laid plan of universal dominion upon the system of PROSELYTISM. All Europe is to be compelled to adopt her constitution, if that metaphysical jargon, which their actions hourly violate, which changes with the caprice of the moment, whose evanescent colours fade from the pencil's touch, can deserve that appellation. She is to fit supreme arbitress, and legislator, while the ci-devant nations of Europe, are to bow before her revolutionary power. That this was the object of their ambition, the unvaried tenor of the decrees of Convention, and conduct of their generals, proves beyond controversy. They have formally professed a design to overthrow all the Monarchies of Europe, and mould them

NOTRE DAME in PARIS. This benign Goddess, as appears, has condescended to exhibit herself in the Hall of the Convention in the very attractive form of a handsome girl, who received the embraces of fraternity from the enraptured president ; which pleasing ceremony was with willing devotion repeated by all the Members :—while the Goddess, as we are told, not in the least disconcerted at such a crowd of adorers, met their devout zeal with a warmth most propitious to their wishes. We have no doubt their ardour was mutual and sincere.

into

into Republics dependent on, and forming members of their supreme revolutionary one, as has been shewn at large in a former note. This great scheme was to be effected by exciting sedition, confusion and massacre, wherever they could extend their baleful influence. They have published manifestoes offering Fraternization to all who would rebel against their respective Governments: They have acted in consequence. But unfortunately on the first opportunity of realizing their plan, their arrogance and impetuosity impelled them to develop too hastily the full scope of their intentions; which was attended with the most untoward effects, to the utter discomfiture of their system.

When they had overrun BRABANT, the inhabitants FREELY CONVENED, were desired as the first exercise of their recovered liberty, to choose whatever form of government they should think most expedient, and conducive to their happiness. The French armed Sans Culottes, who like the RUSSIAN TROOPS in Poland constantly supported the freedom of election; intimated to them, that the French Constitution being PERFECTION, it would be presumptuous to attempt to improve upon it: In short, that they should adopt the French Constitution—and as a consummation of felicity, that it would be further proper to declare their country a member of the French empire. The arguments of the Sans Culottes were irresistible. The BRABANTERS accordingly adopted the French Constitution, and declared their country a Member of France. The first effect however of their indissoluble union with the French Republic, one and indivisible, although strictly according to revolutionary principles, had not been taken into calculation by a people unaccustomed to the blessings of liberty; and to their inexperience, was rather unpalatable. The French Commissioners had been invested with unlimited power over French property: of consequence they immediately seized for public—or private uses, all the plate and other valuables they could lay hold on, in that province, now become part of the free country of FRANCE.

The late declaration also of the French Commissioners at a Fort near TOULON to the English Flag, “that when the English should become REPUBLICANS, they would embrace them with the arms of Fraternization”—shews on what terms alone that honour is to be obtained.

A similar, and unhappily most successful attempt to subjugate mankind was practised by the ARABIAN IMPOSTOR; with this advantage nevertheless, over his modern imitators, that the foundation on which HE built—however extravagant the superstructure, was THEISM: The basis on which our enlightened and polished neighbours have chosen to rear their immortal fabric, is a pure and unqualified ATHEISM.

NOTE XI. PAGE 25. (L).

It affords matter of consolation to all who lament the tragical fate of many excellent men and honest patriots, who have fallen in France beneath triumphant villany, to reflect, that the RULING FACTION have since fully "vindicated the ways of God to Man," by becoming the instruments of his vengeance on each other. PARIS is now the seat of carnage * where the Priests of the Temple, having immolated before the Idol of Democracy the devoted victims, at length satiate him with their own proper blood—Every party contending for power with the fierceness of savage Beasts and the rage of Dæmons. BRISOTINES, GIRONDISTS, ROWLANDERS, all their divisions and subdivisions of factions, after mutually harassing each other, have now fallen under the sway of the Disciples of MARAT, that MOLOCK of the Convention. 44 of their own inviolable Deputies delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, †—above sixty more deputies declared in a state of arrest;—Generals, Ministers of State, Municipal Officers, sent indiscriminately in crowds to the scaffold—form altogether a spectacle of awful retribution on the chief actors in the earlier political tragedies:—Those cruel men, who wielded for a while the fierce Democracy, "and taught bloody instructions, which now return to plague the inventors." Divine Justice, though sometimes for wise purposes suspended, will at last rouse to vengeance.

These perpetual scenes of cruelty and horror, deprave the moral sense, and render the People savage—blood-thirsty—and ferocious: Their leaders command the springs of this dire engine of popular fury, and direct its force on their opponents; or on whomsoever their dark and guilty minds may regard in the light of suspicion‡. The Generals of their armies, however gallant,

* Above 3000 victims now crowd the prisons of Paris, to be discharged no doubt, by the same process, and mode of gaol delivery as was practiced on the 2d of September 1792—OF BLOODY MEMORY.

† Twenty-one have been but now sentenced and executed without being permitted to plead in their own defence, by a new and summary mode of criminal jurisprudence, which directs, that the Jury to avoid embarrassing themselves with intricate cases, shall only hear evidence on the side of the prosecution; and of that no more than shall suffice to impress them with a belief of the guilt of the prisoner—while as prognosticks of the event emissaries from the JACOBIN CLUB crowd the Court—as vultures, hovering over the field of battle, and snuffing up the scent of BLOOD.

‡ We must confess that the Revolutionary Tribunal, if they wanted legal PROOF have at least by a severe sarcasm afforded a very satisfactory REASON for lately dispatching two of their criminals—SILLERY is condemned for being intimate with EGALITE—EGALITE Vice versa, is sentenced for being a friend of SILLERY. The justice of these decisions will not be disputed.

however

ever patriotic, are the objects of their eternal jealousy. They hold their lives by pretty much the same tenure as a TURKISH PACHA: If successful, they are dangerous;—if unfortunate they are traitors.—The Bow-string and the Revolutionary Tribunal are the same in principle and operation. But such has ever been the Genius of Tyrannical Governments, and above all of Democratic Tyrannies. The fate of the six triumphant Admirals at ATHENS returning from the glorious victory at Arginusæ, who were sacrificed to the intrigues of a cabal at home—forms a remarkable parallel with FRENCH REPUBLICAN GRATITUDE.

F I N I S.

SUBJECTS OF THE NOTES.

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- I. Alteration of the Calendar.
 - II. Distresses of the Royal Family.
 - III. Destruction of the Regicides.
 - IV. Calamities of FRANCE.
 - V. Peculation of the Generals. Confiscations.
 - VI. Contrast between Republican and Christian Virtue.
 - VII. Arguments to prove the Necessity of the War with FRANCE.
 - VIII. Enormities, and Absurdities of the French Government.
 - IX. Mixture of Levity and Cruelty in the French Character.
 - X. PROSELYTISM—the French Plan of Conquest, borrowed from MAHOMET.
 - XI. Vindication of DIVINE JUSTICE—in the Mutual Destruction of the Authors of the present Calamities.
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E R R A T U M.

Page 21.—line 13.

For

—What his Creator made him, not a perfect being—

Read

—What his Creator made him not, a perfect being—

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